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CROWN OR CROSS?

By GEORGE MORGENSTERN

> But whereunto shall I liken this generation? It is like unto children sitting in the markets, and calling unto their fellows,
>
> And saying, We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced; we have mourned unto you, and ye have not lamented.
>
> —Matt. 11:16

INDEED, THIS COULD BE a description of this unhappy time, as it seemed to Jesus an appropriate description of the men of His own time. This is a generation grown numb from repeated shock, far beyond laughter, much beyond tears. It is a generation ill taught and incapable, too, of teaching itself from its own experience. Hope is remote, and cynicism a usual substitute for belief. The only apocalyptic deliverance that seems likely to this age is atomic.

In the intercourse of states, in ideological disputation, and in the arts of governing and being governed, Christian love is as rare as Christian charity, justice, or magnanimity. Angry men snap back and forth, and angry nations threaten with the clenched fist. Slaughter has been great; it has the potentiality of becoming universal.

Humility is a Christian virtue. It is known these days only as a jibe related to a popular entertainer. The wisdom of the ages is forgotten because it is not considered sufficiently engrossing to be transmitted by electronic impulse. The moral and spiritual teachings which are the heritage of western civilization, and which have given continuity and meaning to the race of western man, are heeded, if at all, for a brief hour one day in seven, and whether they are understood is another matter.

Yet God is invoked often enough. He is invoked in self-righteousness and self-justification, never so much as when the masters of temporal power confront their shrunken souls in the tiny closet of their conscience. Thus this generation has heard the chosen leader of the greatest of nations announce to his countrymen that that nation had mastered and unleased a terrible, unknown instrument of power against their enemies, without warning, without remorse. In the flash of seconds it had erased or left maimed and twisted a quarter of a million fellow humans; and the leader, who had decreed that absolute obliteration, could call for divine approbation, saying:

"We may thank God that it has come to us instead of to our enemies, and we pray that He may guide us to use it in His way and for His purpose."

The leader of another great nation, honored as have been few of his generation, could comfortably remark that by this means there was provided "a merciful abridgment of the slaughter", and that the use of this dreadful device thereupon enabled the victors

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"to lay healing hands" upon the tortured peoples "at the cost of a few explosions".

In this age of inverted enlightenment there arose a new doctrine in law by which the acts of states were translated into personal guilt and those men who were so unfortunate as to lead a nation into defeat paid for this novel crime by having their necks snapped at the end of a rope.

The arbitrament of international disputes was no longer settled in honorable contests of arms, but one side or the other must now surrender "unconditionally", so that its women might be violated, its men enslaved to pay "reparations in kind", the machines providing its livelihood pillaged, and its future governed by a "plan" envisioning the sowing of its conquered plains with salt like the Carthage of old.

In the midst of this world dedicated to the process of reducing urban wilderness to deserts, with the final prospect that they would be peopled by apes and lizards and insects, there was created a multilingual tower where a mundane heaven was to be achieved through resort to taunts and insults. Round about, the unheeding populace goggled at boxes providing them insight, through windows of opaque glass, into the doings of a demented world; or solemnly argued the merits of some pontifical figure, or the vice and evil of another.

They wept not, nor did they dance.

So, shall it be said, "O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come?" Or shall allowance be made and compassion granted?

For at this season, once more, it is proper to remind ourselves of the all-encompassing mercy which promises that, however late, it is never too late for redemption.

BUT BEFORE THERE CAN be even the possibility of redemption men must scrutinize their motives and sanctify their aspirations and know the road to righteous living. Before them there is an example undimmed by the passage of two thousand years.

That example is founded upon living experience and an association with humankind, as well as upon divine endowment. In that lies the best assurance that Jesus would understand the enormities of this generation, for He looked into the hearts of the men of his time and catalogued their trespasses. Divinity walked the earth and lived among men as a man may live — even One with an unique sense of mission. Human parenthood through Mary guaranteed His sympathy with men, while divine origin insured ability to transcend all human limitations of conduct. One so endowed would surely understand the frailties of lesser men.

No child comes into a world of pain without bringing pain or knowing pain: "A woman when she is in travail hath sorrow, because her hour is come: but as soon as she is

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delivered of the child, she remembereth no more the anguish, for joy that a man is born into the world." And so, long ago, at Bethlehem there were good tidings of great joy.

The act of birth into a world of men was affirmation of the community of Jesus with mankind. The travail of the Virgin recapitulated a universal human experience which had infinite capacity to touch the hearts of the faithful, so that there arose that disposition to seek the intercession of the Virgin which was one of the most touching testimonies of medieval Christendom.

But the ending of the birth pangs are not the end of pain in human experience; for the newcomer, they are beginning. The career of Jesus was never free from the shadows of threatening tragedy, which cast their ominous cover upon His way, as in the end the cross was to do on the road to Calvary. He dwelt close to the realities of experience known to the men of His time, subject, as they, to the accidents and anxieties to which common mortals are heir, but moved inexorably by the greater destiny, portentous at every step of the way.

This tragic progression was an act of volition and sacrifice in the cause of humanity. The prophets of old had likewise been indifferent to the harshest of fates. Having acted as God's men should act, they left the consequences to take care of themselves. Results which ordinary men might call calamities were mere incidents in God's ordering of events. Whether a course of action led to a crown or to a cross was of slight moment as long as the will of heaven was performed. Yet a mere reformer in this tradition might have been more moderate, more calculating, and more worldly wise in dealing with religious and political authority. That was not Jesus's choice. It does Him less than credit to say that the end was fated, not embraced.

This experience proclaims that compromise has no place in the search for righteousness. There is no half-way house. If Christians accept the inescapable postulate that the good life is the perfect life, the determination of righteousness can only lie in unsparing honesty of judgment on one's self, however much the part of compassion may dictate charity in judging others.

Perhaps man is incapable of such high resolution, and perhaps he is destined in any event to fail in its realization. The failure can be absolved if the effort of attainment has been made; it can be forgiven if man fails in striving for a high and not a petty end. But to destroy ourselves for nothing, to let life slip away in a dedication to irrelevancies or to base and trifling preoccupations — that is what we cannot forgive ourselves.

If these requirements seem excessive, let us never forget that what Jesus demanded of others He Himself was ready to perform. His loyalty to an absolute ideal carried Him from His carpenter's home in Nazareth to Christendom's cross on the Golgotha Hill.

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IN THIS SEASON of regeneration we are inspired by the knowledge that the iron resolution of His mighty example was born of such weakness as is in us when we are born. There is comfort and assurance to weak and fallible men that God was manifested in a Child. What is weaker than a child? Not even the weakness of man at his weakest. What has less power to struggle with the demons that seek possession of the souls of men? But what has more promise than a child? For a child is unfulfilled; his works and the realization of himself are still to come. Everything is possible to him. It is in the sense that we are reborn at the Nativity that we gather strength to overcome our weakness.

So let us be consoled and recapture some of the serenity of the first Christmas. We are on familiar ground, though most of us have not seen or ever will see this place of the Nativity. Still, we feel the bite of the clear night air, we look up to the bright shining stars; we see, over the shoulders of the Magi kneeling to drink, the reflection of the signal Star of Bethlehem in the waters of the well. We witness the shepherds in the fields as once more they raise their watchful eyes from their flocks and begin to trace their way toward the manger. We hear the lowing of the cattle, and see the eye of the ox and the ass turned toward the Child.

What does it matter that in this world each man carries his cross in his own spiritual torment? He has a Companion along the way. Whatever the burdens of the hour, the crown is within reach. Let us remember the admonition: "No cross, no crown."

If this is an evil world, the testimony of Jesus's experience is that it was always an evil world. Yet He was here to help men overcome the evil, and, by achieving government over themselves, to hasten the arrival of a new regime of truth. For Christians it is impossible to take, with Pilate, the comparative view and say, "What is truth?" To hesitate to acknowledge and condemn in one's self the failings that contribute to the evils of an age fallen from grace is to evade the most rigorous of all duties.

The sustaining force of Jesus is never greater than in the proofs displayed of His sense of obligation to mankind. If He was wholly on the side of God in the great struggle between the powers of good and evil, yet He was supremely conscious that He took sides with God in the service of humanity. This knowledge should be enough to provide us with the saving sense that if the rout of the evils of this world were worthy of the labors of the Savior, it is worthy of the labors of ourselves. For we have inherited a legacy, and, if anything, it has grown and become worse since the time of Tiberius. The task is great, and the hour advanced, but the summons is before us:

> The night is far spent, the day is at hand: let us therefore cast off the works of darkness, and let us put on the armor of light.

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HUMAN EVENTS

FRANK C. HANIGHEN, *Editor* FRANK CHODOROV, *Associate Editor*

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DEC 21 53

The Atom Plan: One fact which tempers enthusiasm for the Eisenhower atom pooling plan is that, even if Soviet Russia should join in pooling materials necessary to make the atom bomb, she might withhold materials that go to make the hydrogen bomb, the more powerful of the two weapons. Such is an admitted possibility.

This intelligence, plus other cooler, afterthoughts, has greatly diminished the excitement which followed the spectacular unveiling of the idea before the assembled UN delegations at New York. Veteran observers who experienced the rousing aftermaths of the first Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam announcements, not to mention the well-publicized nativity of the UN, have learned caution. Writers who initially hailed the Ike proposal in their columns are far less sanguine in their private discussions than in their published prose.

Sober observers recall the extremely negligible concessions the USSR has made to international organizations and plans since the end of the war. Even if the USSR should accept the Eisenhower offer in principle, that would not exclude the possibility — nay probability — that subsequent Soviet moves would be designed to delay and snarl negotiations, as they have so consistently in the past.

The problem of inspection looms as insoluble. Control without inspection means nothing, and few really believe Soviet Russia would permit real inspection. Hence, many have feared acceptance of the Baruch Plan for control (which involved inspection) — feared that the plan would be observed only by the West, but surreptitiously violated by the USSR.

Meanwhile, the other decision taken at Bermuda — that is, holding a Big Four foreign ministers conference at Berlin — has inspired much skepticism here. Mr. Paul W. Ward, diplomatic correspondent of The *Baltimore Sun* (a paper which has strongly supported Eisenhower and has maintained a very optimistic attitude towards his foreign policies), reports (December 13) that some diplomatic authorities in Washington "professed today to see in the breakdown of the Panmunjom negotiations for a Korean peace conference another ill omen for the projected Big Four meeting. . . . Taking it for granted that the Kremlin was behind the tactics employed by the Chinese and North Korean Communists to bring the Panmunjom negotiations to a halt, they voiced fears the move betokened a Kremlin determination to stall off a Korean peace conference and use the result as a pretext for demanding that, whenever they meet, the Big Four foreign ministers address themselves first to the Communist demand for a Big Five conference."

Not Merely Gossip: One of the sights of the town these days is a new building being built on the Capitol Plaza. When completed this large structure will house the headquarters of the Teamsters Union. Dave Beck, head of the union, is touted as the next President of the AFL, a labor organization the Republican New Dealers have been seeking to appease. Even the barkers in the sight-seeing buses cannot refrain from pointing out how this union building faces, in close proximity, the Senate Office Building and the Capitol.

● Newsies are dubbing Max Rabb, White House aide, "The Dave Niles of the Republican regime". Rabb, former secretary to Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., is in charge of "minority problems" (which was Niles's field under FDR and Truman). He reportedly was the moving spirit behind the measure

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passed last spring, permitting a special immigration "emergency quota" of 211,000. This measure passed despite much bitter opposition from many who had consistently upheld the McCarran-Walter Immigration Bill.

● Last weekend, the Gridiron dinner and show, a big event among publishers and press people, took place here and one outcome was a set-back to the political ambitions of Representative Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. Young Roosevelt (being groomed by the New Dealers as the "white hope" of the Democrats in 1956) was given a spot to address the assembled notables. In accordance with Gridiron rules, the speech was not publicly reported. But we gather that F.D.R., Jr. failed to make an outstanding speech and did not register successfully with these veteran political observers.

● Air Force circles say that Secretary of Defense Wilson has been converted to the air power concept of national defense — reversing his anti-air power attitude of last spring, as reflected in drastic budget cuts of appropriations for the Air Force. Newspaper reports in the past few days bear out this new policy of Wilson, declaring that the Secretary in next June's budget will cut Army and Navy funds drastically and give more money to the Air Force. Air Force people say that it's only natural, that Forrestal in his day started as did Wilson, but finally came round to the Air Force point of view. Politicos view the new development as final confirmation of the soundness of the views urged several years ago (and drawing much derision from internationalists) by former President Hoover and the late Senator Taft. Still others caution that the new development is not certain until the new budget is passed in the spring.

Canada Spy Affair: While Senator Jenner and the Canadian authorities arrange for an interview with the former Soviet official Igor Gouzenko, the aftermath of the controversy between officials of the two Governments seems to have produced some beneficial results in Canada. The "liberal" press has stressed the animosity towards the U.S. stirred up by the matter (or was it by the "liberal" press coverage of the matter?). Reportedly the Canadian people were aroused by what some Canadians felt was "interference" in their affairs. But one Canadian publication suggests that the investigation of Communists in the U.S. may be followed by a similar wave of investigation in the Dominion of Canada.

The *Verner Ottawa Letter*, a "Critical Analysis and Interpretation of Trends in Government and Business", published weekly, at 188 Metcalfe Street, Ottawa 4, Canada, in its November 30th issue, says: "The Canadian people, since the Gouzenko exposures of the Communist spy sweep a few years ago, have been satisfied to think that between the Department of Immigration, the Department of Justice and the prevention section of the RCMP [Mounted Police], Canada's Communist infiltration had been cut to a minimum and that the position was under constant surveillance. Now, they begin to wonder. How good a job is Canada doing in this field? What is the position today? Are there Communist agents in high or strategic places? And, if so, what is being done about them? It is improbable that Canada is free of infiltration at either the government or the private levels. The thought now is that a new surge of investigation is on the way and, with sustained American interest, it may become spectacular. . . . Federal civil servants are taking deep interest in these matters. The other day when official statements were made in the House on the Dexter White and Igor Gouzenko matters, every inch of available visitor space was occupied."

Purge in Reverse: Real dyed-in-the-wool anti-Communists — are there any in the Eisenhower regime? What the public does not know is that a fine-tooth comb operates to keep out any known and experienced anti-Communists from getting within a mile of any job in the Republican Administration.

It can now be revealed that just a year ago the American Legion compiled and handed to Dulles a list of the country's top-notch experts on Communism and psychological warfare. The list was headed by two intelligence generals, now retired. Not one person on this list was even called in for an interview.

What the compilers of this list now realize is that they in effect prepared a blacklist-in-reverse. Ike's Palace Guard (especially since it's headed by the ineffable C. D. Jackson) naturally want no really old-line anti-Communists around. For instance, Elizabeth Bentley (whom J. Edgar Hoover strongly praised

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as a competent and reliable witness on organized Communism) is left teaching convent girls in the state of Louisiana. This is the real reason — it appears — why there has been no effective counter-offensive against the world-wide Communist propaganda, why our Voice of America and USIA and CIA have been ineffective, and why the clean-out of government ranks proceeds at a snail's pace.

Rotten Business: The Reconstruction Finance Corporation, which is a banking outfit doing business with tax money only, is on the way out, by Congressional order. Recently (the newspapers reported) it put on the block 171 lots of public agency bonds. It accepted bids on 39 lots, taking a loss of a little over one hundred thousand dollars (yours and mine). The loss was somewhat larger, if we take into consideration the present depreciated dollar, as compared with the purchasing power of the dollar at the time we citizens were compelled to make the investments.

The gist of the story, however, is that the RFC had to withdraw from sale the 132 lots that were not sold. The bids were shamefully low. That simply means that this banking institution, operating with tax money only, made some very poor investments. That, of course, is possible with the shrewdest bankers; the difference is that when a banker makes a poor investment he takes the loss, but in the case of the RFC, you and I are compelled to suffer because of the poor judgment of the bureaucrats.

The bonds offered were among the RFC's best securities — municipality issues for the financing of waterworks, sewage, etc. The agency holds a lot of notes and other kinds of I.O.U.'s given by dentists, manufacturers, railroads, gasoline station operators and other borrowers of our tax money. The list of these borrowers fills the major part of a forty-page booklet; 4,572 of them, not including public agencies. What are these loans worth? The bureaucrats kept them on the books at par, the amount loaned, so as to show that the RFC was solvent. Now comes the day of accurate reckoning.

New Foundation: The Foundation for Study of Treaty Law was announced this week in Washington, by its president, Mr. William Simon, Washington attorney, and Mr. W. L. McGrath, Cincinnati business man who has been famous for his critical testimony against the International Labor Office. Mr. McGrath is chairman of the Board of Trustees, which includes Mr. Fred G. Gurley, President of the A.T. & S.F. Railway; Merle J. Trees, Chairman of the Chicago Bridge and Iron Company; and Alfred O'Gara, President of the Alfred O'Gara Company of Chicago. The new organization will go into (among other things) the "reasons underlying various proposals for constitutional amendments, such as the Bricker Amendment". The officers have announced plans for a dinner to be held in Washington on January 26 at the Mayflower and have invited as speakers Dr. Clarence Manion, outspoken advocate of the Bricker Amendment and Senator Alexander Wiley, strong opponent of the Amendment.

Stevenson: Adlai Stevenson's resonant illogic and verbal ingenuity continue — with, in one case, the demonstrable objective of wooing the South back into the Donkey's fold. C. P. Ives, columnist of the *Baltimore Sun*, takes him to task (December 7):

"Mr. Stevenson likened the current GOP use of communism to the earlier Republican bloody-shirt campaigning which blamed the Democrats for the Civil War. But the Civil War was totally won and decades over at a time when the bloody-shirt campaigning (however regrettable) still paid off at the polls. Our cold war has no more than begun. We are hardly past the threshold in our exploration of the consequences to us and to the world of the position into which Stalin had parlayed Russia by the end of 1945."

Methodists: The Church League of America (1216 Sherman Ave., Evanston, Ill.) has published a special bulletin under auspices of Methodists who believe that "certain Trends publicized by the recent appearance of two Methodist leaders before a Congressional Committee should be widely and thoughtfully examined in the spirit of 'Let There be Light'." Such controversial figures as Bishop Oxnam, Dr. Harry F. Ward and Rev. Jack McMichael are critically examined and the brochure concludes with the follow-

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ing: "We are living dangerously today in a world torn by revolution, in a world threatened by the greatest conspiracy ever organized to destroy Christianity and the private ownership system. Yet we have leaders of great influence who insist on indulging their own idiosyncrasies to become the greatest little helpers the Conspirators could possibly have. That is the Issue. It is time for preachers and laymen to cooperate fully in a common cause against a common peril."

Foundation Front: Are the trustees of some of the big foundations finally waking up to the fact that they have been contributing vast sums for the past twenty years to the support of individual and organizational activities in support of Soviet aims against the interests of the United States? Or has somebody whispered to them that they might seriously endanger their tax-exemption privileges under the Federal Internal Revenue Act by the undiscriminating nature of some of their contributions?

Something has happened within the Carnegie Corporation and the Rockefeller Foundation at any rate. The Rockefeller report for 1952, just issued, indicates that the trustees have given the ax to the Institute of Pacific Relations, the Foreign Policy Association, the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, Owen Lattimore's School of Advanced International Study at Johns Hopkins, and the general support fund of the Council on Foreign Relations.

The Carnegie Corporation, after contributing a total of $990,000 to the IPR since its founding, dropped it from the Carnegie list of beneficiaries in 1950. But during that year, when Owen Lattimore was "cleared" in the Tydings Committee whitewash, the Rockefeller Foundation made its usual two-year grant of $110,000 to the IPR, bringing its total to $2,167,433.38 since 1926, not including its fellowships and grants in aid to such IPR luminaries as Lawrence Rosinger, Carey McWilliams, John K. Fairbank, W. L. Holland, and Robert Barnett. And Carnegie and Rockefeller rewarded Lattimore that year to the extent of $102,620.60 for his school, which, however, included a $60,000 payment by Carnegie on a $300,000 appropriation made prior to 1950.

For the first time in years the Rockefeller report omits its tribute to the work of the IPR in its survey of the activities of recipients of its bounty. There is only the itemization in the detailed list of disbursements showing that the Foundation had paid off the $15,000 balance due on the 1950 appropriation. Since the Foundation's biennial grant to the IPR was due last year and none was made, this indicates the "kiss-off".

The Rockefeller Foundation had dropped the Foreign Policy Association (whose writers were almost identical with those of the IPR) in 1951, after contributing $825,000 since its founding in 1934, saying: "A 1950 grant of $80,000 terminates Foundation aid to the Foreign Policy Association, now operating largely on a stable and self-supporting basis."

Self-supporting? The Carnegie Corporation paid up, in the same year, a $53,000 balance on an appropriation made prior to 1950 and shut the FPA off its list. The Alfred P. Sloan Foundation had stopped its contributions to the FPA as far back as 1946. But the Ford Foundation came to the FPA's rescue on Feb. 16, 1951 with a grant of $335,000 and has given it generous support ever since.

Both the Carnegie and Rockefeller Foundations had voted large appropriations to Owen Lattimore's school at Johns Hopkins in 1949; but they have made no additional contributions since. Carnegie has held up an unpaid balance of $240,000 since 1951. The Rockefeller report for 1952 records having paid $12,500 in traveling expenses for visiting European professors under an obligation undertaken in 1949, but that was all.

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